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deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act, it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband may be inclined occasionally to have

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837 intercourse with other women, that is natural, although it is a danger-
684 ous affair; but remember that he is a man, and that you are a woman:
[562] between the two there is no possible comparison. A man may take
many liberties, while a woman may take none. What are peccadilloes in a man, are crimes in a woman. Beware of deceitful men
831 who would come to entice you away from your rightful owner. Take heed in time, since once the thing is done, there is no longer a remedy, and repentance is too late".

831 At my first visit to Nagbabalayan, a companion of mine wanted to
834 take the picture of an Isneg woman who was pounding rice near
837 her house. When he invited her to pose for him, she quickly demurred and added: "I am a married woman". She evidently misunderstood him, but the answer sufficiently proved what was her opinion about her responsibilities.

On a certain occasion my catechist, an Ilоko Christian, went to light his cigar at that of a woman, who came smoking to the river, in order to draw water. Not knowing about his intentions, I was not able to warn him. Fortunately as he was my servant and a stranger at that, everything went on smoothly, although the woman at first strongly objected. The point was that she was married, and no Isneg is allowed to take such liberties with the wife of another man: in the eyes of an Isneg, acting that way means much more familiarity than an uninitiated person might suspect. This shows how strictly a married woman is hedged in, and how easily a man may be offended by an action that implies the smallest degree of familiarity with his wife.

836 On my second visit to Bayag, in July 1929, I met there an Isneg
831 policeman, who was an acquaintance of mine and who was a married
562 man. On the day I was leaving Bayag, he also had to go to a neigh-
661 boring settlement; so he accompanied me for a part of the road. Here
554 I quote textually what he told me on that occasion, apparently indignant at the occurrence: "This morning I met with a strange case: a Bayag-Isneg was scolding his daughter in my presence for having slept with me last night. I asked him if he objected to my using the girl, when she consented. He answered me he did not, of course, but he merely wanted to scold the girl; he said he had nothing against me, his intention was to teach his daughter decent manners. That was all right, of course, but why should he have done so while I was around and could hear him? He should have scolded the girl at a time I was out of earshot. Why! That fellow seemed to resent

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the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manalódog*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákuá*).

"A certain amount of *bási* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest

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up a good many friendships, and it is the starting point of not a few quarrels among them. Voluntary talebearing, by which I mean here reporting to the interested person the gossip that somebody has spread about him, is, as far as I can judge about the matter, rather rare, at least among men.

Drunkenness is a vice that is mostly indulged in only at the time of some *sáy-du* or other sacrifice, and this mostly by old men. Comparing their use of intoxicating drinks with what I have seen in civilized countries, I should say that the Isneg is a temperate man. Nevertheless theory is stricter than practice, except in the case of youth.

Three points are still to be considered now, namely: chastity, honesty and truthfulness.

And first as to chastity and the virtues related to it. Complete nudity is habitual among youngsters under six years of age; the little coat usually worn even by small boys, is not sufficiently long to cover them decently. Such nakedness is not considered shameful as long as the children are small; nevertheless there is some ground for concluding that it may have an effect upon sex behavior. Indeed small children are very after tickled (*magkuriro-*, *kurirkón*) in order to cause them to laugh, and this tickling is very commonly practised on or near the genitals, not only by the parents, but also by young boys and girls; especially in the case of small boys, the principal use of their penis seems to be that of being fingered by every passer-by.

As soon as the child is able to lisp a few words, the pronunciation by the child of any obscene term that finds its way into the child's vocabulary is greeted with laughter; and if later on foul language is heard to proceed from the small boy's mouth, he is applauded for his cleverness instead of being chastised for his forwardness. Little girls are usually brought up in a less dirty atmosphere, as the mother takes care of them almost exclusively as soon as they are able to walk; but little or no separation of the sexes at night is insisted upon during the first years of the little Isneg's life.

Everything considered, the sight of nudity in both sexes, touching of one another's genitals without reproof, the early excitation of the boys' genitals through indecent handling by older children and adults, the use of dirty speech without the least restraint and almost with encouragement, all these combined can do nothing else but detract from the efficiency of subsequent teaching on sex morality. The existence of the term *kasadr* seems to support my inference; *kasade*

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592 wife. Especially when the women have attained a more or less ad-
562 vanced age, their tongue usually rules the household; and in this
578 they have a very sharp-cutting instrument indeed. The husband
may occasionally vindicate his authority, but most of the time he
[201] shrinks from the women's displeasure. Besides, as a last resort, they always have their tears ready at hand; I have assisted more than once, although involuntarily, at family scenes in which the quarrel ended with a flow of tears on the part of the wife and subsequent awkwardness in the manner of the more or less aggressive husband, who finally could find no other way out but meekly to explain, to try to soothe, and to submit. An old woman, be she married or widowed, has generally more than one say in the family. And if a woman has been consecrated a shamaness while in her early childhood, then she commands the respect not only of the household but of her neighbors as well, or rather inspires them with a kind of reverential awe, especially if she is advanced in years.

To resume, both parties help each other in their own way: the husband has a woman to look after his daily needs, and the wife, although taking the lion's share of the work, does not lack compensation in the fact that from now on she has a ready listener whenever she wants to pronounce one of her philippics.

837 As has been amply shown in the preceding pages, and as will appear even more clearly from what will be said of divorce, there can be no question among the Isneg of allowing anybody access to one's wife or of exchanging wives with another man.

831 Do Isneg husbands and wives love each other? It has been said
593 about other tribes, here in the Mountain Province, that in their case marriage is nothing else but a juxtaposition of two people, a man and a woman, that the husband is more like a stranger to his wife, that mutual love between husband and wife is something completely unknown. This may perhaps be true with some of them, although I doubt very much if such sweeping statements are entirely consonant with the facts. But does it apply to the Isneg? It must be conceded that in the question of marital love, just as in that of gratitude, outward manifestations are exceedingly sparse among the Isneg. It is also a fact that husband and wife never or almost never work together, which after all is not exactly peculiar to primitive people. But can we truly say that mutual love is unknown between an Isneg husband and his wife? I should answer most emphatically in the negative: Isneg man and wife most certainly love each other. Nevertheless it

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is not an easy matter to prove the statement by concrete instances, as such a thing as marital love,—which by the way is rarely manifested outwardly among the Isneg, as has just been stated,—is usually not patent to every passer-by, to whatsoever tribe or race the people in question may belong.

A few previous statements referring to the position of husband and wife in the Isneg family, may suggest that mutual love between both exists to a certain degree. One concrete example to be cited will, however, go farther as evidence, the more so that at the time the couple in question were already advanced in years and of an age at which marital love is usually on the wane, at least as far as outward manifestations are concerned. Now, one cannot deduce from a single example that all Isneg husbands and wives are exceedingly fond of each other: *ab uno disce omnes* may sometimes be considered as a rough working rule, but it will hardly do as a scientific principle. But this instance clearly shows at least that mutual love between husband and wife is not something unknown among the Isneg, and, although Isneg families differ very much the one from the other, one will be forced to conclude that, if such mutual consideration can be found so clearly and patently with an old couple, there will probably be found among the Isneg at least a certain proportion of young married people to whom marital love is not an unknown quantity. I myself, who have been living among them for a considerable period (some five years at the time this is written, early 1931), am convinced that Isneg husbands and wives usually love each other very much; but it should never be forgotten that it is very hard to cite striking examples of such love that may have come to the notice of an outsider, when one remembers how little demonstrative the generality of Isneg are.

Let us come to the anecdote in question. In February 1926, on the day I left Butaw for Solsona, *Balúkat*, one of my carriers, a man about fifty years old, came to me before we started on our journey and entreated me to allow him to lead me by a little detour instead of following the straight path. The evening before, he said, he had been talking to his wife about my appearance in those quarters, and she had evinced much eagerness to see me. Now if I would kindly follow him, we should not lose very much time, and it would allow him to grant the wish of the old girl. I consented to the proposal, and when we arrived at the place where the woman had promised to meet us when coming from her field, *Balúkat* had barely espied her,

825 as the man insisted, the brother (allowed the marriage to go on and) went under the house to get wine. Some persons in the house happened to walk so heavily [83] that he look up. There he saw that the dilating vulva of the woman had sharp teeth (the cause of the former husbands' death). The woman was so ashamed that she ran outside. She said: "You made me so ashamed that I am going to leave you. When I pass across your path, you must return because it signifies ill. If you do something else and I sing in a scolding voice, you must discontinue your work." The woman then became a bird, *balsit*, and flew away.

THE ORIGIN OF MONKEYS

One summer day some women were planting rice in their kaiñgin. At noon while the sun was hot, they rested in the shelter erected in the kaiñgin. They amused themselves by telling many stories. They slept after telling their stories. The sun was very hot. The ground was very hot, too. They could not work well in that heat. Their backs and heads would suffer in the heat of the sun. So they slept.

After awhile they woke up, prepared, and chewed *buyo*. They drank much water. The sun was still very hot. It was ont yet time for them to plant rice. They had nothing to do in the shelter. Then they thought to catch the lice in each other's hair. Each sat behind another while she hunted and caught the lice on her head. There were many lice in their hair. There were big lice and small ones, too. One of the women said, "Let us play with these lice." "Oh, yes,"